The Eight-Hour Movement:

The early history of the eight-hour movement, from Number 3 of the American Federation of Labor's Eight-Hour Series:

"As far back as 1806 we have an authenticated instance of organized ship-builders and caulkers in New York City asking for a reduction from fourteen to ten hours a day. Unlike the movement then assuming headway in England, this was not a plea for women and children only, but a sturdy demand for themselves. Their employers were astounded at such a demand, and with solemn indignation the merchants of New York resolved that such a trade combination has a direct tendency to put their business into other hands, or to seriously injure it by reducing ship-owners to repair their vessels elsewhere rather than submit to the inconveniences, delays and vexations to which they would be exposed when they can obtain labor only at such times and on such conditions as the folly and caprice of a few journeymen mechanics may dictate, who are now idle two or three of the most valuable hours of the day.' Whereupon these patriotic merchants---determined to blacklist every member of the union audaciously asking for a reduction of the hours of labor from fourteen to ten. Several years passed before marked success attended the sporadic efforts which followed. In Boston, May, 1832, the carpenters and caulkers struck for ten hours, and lost, but in that and the year following the same trades were successful in New York and Philadelphia.

"After this the movement for ten hours became so general that in April, 1840, President Van Buren by proclamation established ten hours as the normal work day in all navy yards and arsenals of the government. This gave it such a standing that in the following year Governor Fort of New Jersey recommended shortening the hours of daily labor in his message, seeing even then that 'constant and unremitting toil prevents intellectual improvement and leads to physical and moral debasement.' Labor parties had already risen in the Eastern States, in which this measure occupied a prominent plank. In the same year, 1841, the ten-hour system was introduced in Bath, Me., by a firm of boat-builders, and most of the yards there followed the example.

"From this time on the movement steadily gained headway in the large cities among skilled artisans, though not in the mills. On Jun 16, 1845, a large mass meeting, attended by 5,000 persons, was held at Pittsburg, Pa., for the same purpose, and led to similar action elsewhere. In the following October the first industrial convention in this country was convened at New York to organize concerted action toward the same end. Mass meetings and strikes for the ten-hour system now became very frequent, and in many cases were successful. The European uprising in 1848 naturally gave the movement greater impetus, and the walls of the old 'cradle of liberty,' Faneuil Hall, again looked to the new spirit of the age. From 1848 onward Congress and Legislatures were annually in receipt of petitions and memorials against the employment of women and children over ten hours a day in factories, but then, as so many times later, they were buried in committees. But the system was gradually gaining ground, and the old fourteen-hour stretch found but few defenders. Little by little hours had fallen to twelve and eleven where the ten-hour system had not yet prevailed.

"Another industrial convention met at Chicago, June, 1850, to further solidify the growing demand. Such persistency was not without effect, and by 1853 eleven hours became the general custom for artisans. In some places factories still ran for more hours, but by 1865 strikes

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had brought elevn hours as the general maximum in factories.

"After the close of the Civil War the return of such large numbers to industrial pursuits again brought the question up and intensified the antagonism between industrialism against the spirit of militancy,which [the] late war did so much to revive and encourage. Hardly was the struggle of arms over and its veterans had returned to peaceful pursuits,than the New England Ten-Hour League was organized, which by the eloquent voice of Wendell Phillips and others proclaimed the new gospel. Owing to this agitation the State of Massachusetts in 1874 adopted the ten-hour law despite the combined opposition of mill owners and political economists."

(History and Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement, by Lemuel Danyrid, Pages 4-6)

A more authoritative and a brief history of this movement is the following taken from the Fourth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois,Pp.406 ff.:

"During the progress of an agitation in 1844 for the reduction of the hours of labor among certain trades in Bath,Me.,-and which grew directly out of the voluntary adoption of the ten-hour system by a firm of shipwrights in that town in 1841-the judge of one of the courts,in a speech in favor of the movement,called the attention of the Masonic fraternity to the proper division of time into three equal parts-'eight hours for work,eight hours for sleep,and eight hours for God and the brethren.'

"This was probably the earliest public ~~statement~~ utterance in favor of an eight-hour day in this country. From 1825 to 1851 the demand-beginning with the ship-carpenters and caulkers,and gradually extending to other occupations-was limited to the establishment of the ~~eight-hour-day~~ ten-hour day. This latter was adopted in 1840 for all employees of the United States Government in the navy yards,and enforced by a proclamation of the President,Martin van Buren,issued April 10 of that year. At the time the hours for labor in factories were from fourteen to fifteen per day,and in other industries from twelve to fourteen,~~and~~ with a few rare exceptions in which eleven hours constituted a day's work. The first formal demands for legislation on this subject seem to have been made in 1828,and in 1829 the first workingmen's candidate,Ebenezer Ford,was elected to the New York Assembly. Among the names of those who were thenceforth active in promoting the movement for a reduction in the daily hours of labor were Charles A.Dana,Horace Greeley,Josiah Warren,Robert Dale Owen,Alfred Brisbane,William H.Channing,Chief Justice Shaw (and many other eminent members of the bench and bar,)William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips,Theodore Parker,Gerritt Smith,Cassius M.Clay, Edward Everett,Elizur Wright,and Governor Fort of New Jersey,the latter being the first State executive to recommend legislation,saying,in his message to the general assembly in 1841: 'Constant and unremitting toil prevents inteelectual improvement,and leads to physical and moral debasement.'

"Little real progress was made,however,until after the passage of the 'ten-hour bill' of the British Parliament in June,1847, on which occasion Mr.Greeley said,in the New York Tribune: 'The friends

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of humanity may rejoice at even this one step toward relieving the misery of the poverty-stricken and oppressed operatives. If no other measures had occupied the attention of Parliament during the session, this one alone would redeem all its sins of ommission and commission.' An increased impetus was given to the movement in this country by the action of Great Britain; and, especially in New England, this question dominated all others to such an extent that in 1851-52, among the candidates favorable to ten-hour legislation elected in Massachusetts, were Henry Wilson, N.P.Banks, Benjamin F.Butler, James M.Stone, William S.Robinson and William Claflin. By the close of 1853 eleven hours had been voluntarily adopted as the limit of a day's work in many parts of the country, ten hours had been made a legal day's work in one or two States, and many others had taken official cognizance of the movement by resolutions, committees of inquiry, and in other ways. Within the next few years the ship-carpenters, joiners and caulkers, who had already gained the ten-hour system, and had demonstrated its wisdom and practicability by the success with which they had met the great demand for shipping during the early California days, effected a still further reduction to eight hours.

"To the advocates of legislative restriction of the hours of labor, and of government initiative in such reductions, this illustration furnished by the shipwrights seems conclusive. In 1840 their day's labor was from 'sun to sun'; in that year the Federal government established ten hours as the limit of a working day for its ship-yards, and within sixteen years in the following years the ten-hour day began to be adopted in private ship-yards, and within sixteen years this was reduced to eight hours, and so continued until the war of the rebellion. During this period, 1841-1861, no other industry in the country was so prosperous. American ships were unequalled by those of any other flag; employers grew rich, and employees were happy and well-paid. They had made great gains in their mental and social status, and it is claimed that the ~~that the~~ shorter hours of labor made better and more intelligent workmen of them, and that to the increased efficiency and greater skill thence resulting was due the supremacy of American-built vessels. The destruction of the industry was caused by the war and by adverse legislation, and the question of hours had nothing to do with the depressed subsequent condition of the ship-building and repairing trades.

"In 1859 a convention of machinists and blacksmiths met in Philadelphia and adopted resolutions in favor of the eight-hour movement and urging the necessity of organization to promote the agitation of the subject. From this date throughout the whole period of the Civil War there was increased activity in this direction and 'Grand Eight-Hour Leagues' were formed in all principal cities and manufacturing centres of the Northern States. In 1861 the Federal Government issued an order directing that the hours for government labor should be made to correspond with those enforced in private industrial establishments. Coupled with the steadily increasing cost of living due to the war, this order, which now affected an enormous number of workingmen, caused general discontent; strikes grew more frequent, demands for increased pay, for shorter hours, from relief from the conditions under which the working-women in large cities were laboring, were heard on every hand and public sentiment was

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unusually aroused. This culminated in the opposition to the draft of 1863,and thenceforward to the close of the war there were many attempts at legislative repression by various state legislatures.

"The first formal movement in behalf of the shorter day, after the war,was made in Massachusetts,and resulted in the creation of an unpaid commission,appointed by Governor Andrew,to investigate the subject of the hours of labor and to report upon the expediency of legislative regulation of the number of hours to constitute a legal day's work. The report of this commission proving unsatisfactory,Governor Bullock appointed another commission in the following year. Eight-hour bills for the government employees were also introduced in Congress early in 1866,and Mr.Ingersoll,of this State(Illinois),introduced at the same session a resolution to adopt the eight-hour system for the District of Columbia. These efforts were repeated in 1867,but it was not until June 25,1868, that the national eight-hour law was finally enacted. May 19,1869, and again May 11,1872,President Grant issued proclamations calling attention to the provisions of this law and directing that no reductions should be made in the pay on account of the reductions in the hours of labor of those coming within the purview of this act. Subsequently,May 18,1872,Congress passed an act securing to all workmen,laborers and mechanics in the employ of the government between June 25,1868, and May 19,1869,full pay on a basis of a regular day of eight hours,the period covered being that between the passage of the act and the date of President Grant's first proclamation on the subject. Notwithstanding the obvious intent of Congress to comply with the wishes expressed in the petitions of those who urged the passage of this law,the heads of departments held that in failing to repeal an act of July 16,1862,requiring the wages of employees in the navy-yards to conform to those in private establishments,Congress had merely established the length of a day's work for the Government and that they were bound to pay pro rata the same wages as those paid in private employment. This view was sustained both by Attorney-General Evarts and Attorney-General Hoar, so that the effect of the law has been simply to reduce the earning opportunity of the Government employees by 20 per cent.

(A footnote here reads as follows: "In January 1886,the statements were made before the Committee on Labor of the Lower House of Congress to the effect that the spirit of this law was being openly ignored,violated or evaded in certain of the Government departments,and the Chairman of the Committee was empowered to present to the House a resolution of inquiry directed to the various secreaties,asking in direct terms whether the provisions of the law were being complied with in their respective departments. President Cleveland is quoted as saying in a conference with the Chairman of the Committee on this subject: 'I believe that the law is a sound one and a good one,and that it should be enforced to the letter. I have no information regarding instances of its violation or evasion,but if such instances are presented to me I shall see that the abuses are remedied and the full spirit of the law enforced,which I understand to be to pay workmen in the Government employ for eight hours work daily what is paid outside of the Government employ for a full day's work.' Nevertheless,the law continues a dead letter in this latter respect in most of the departments.")

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"Meanwhile, the Trades-Assemblies of New York and Baltimore had issued a call for a National Congress, which was held in the latter city in August, 1866, delegates being in attendance from Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Qowa, Maryland, Missouri, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. On the subject of the eight-hour legislation the following was adopted:

" 'Whereas, The history and legislation of the past have demonstrated that no dependence whatever can be placed upon the pledges and professions of representatives of the existing political parties, so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned; therefore be it

" 'Resolved, That the time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves loose from all party ties and organize themselves into the National Labor Party, the object of which shall be to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours a day's work."

"The congress adjourned to meet in Chicago the following year, and upon August 19, 1867, delegates were present representing labor organizations in all the Northern States and in Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. At this meeting the congress adopted the name National Labor Union, and a large share of its deliberations were devoted to the eight-hour question which continued to be an engrossing theme at the subsequent meetings, until the formation of the Boston Eight-Hour League in the spring of 1869. The most important eight-hour demonstration during this period was the strike of the miners in St. Clair and Schuylkill counties, Pennsylvania, which involved from 12,000 to 20,000 men between July and September, 1868, when the effort was abandoned. The agitation in Massachusetts secured the creation in 1869 of the first Bureau of Labor Statistics ever established, and this together with the systematic discussion of the eight-hour question by the Boston League concentrated upon that State the attention and hopes of the labor reformers. The preamble to the constitution of the League is noteworthy as being the first formulation of principles by a body devoted solely to the reduction of the hours of labor as the first step to labor reform. It embodied a statement of the argument for the reduction and of the results which it was claimed would follow, its propositions being that a reduction of hours logically involves an increase of wages; that this increase is without a corresponding increase in the cost of production; that the increase of wages without increased cost of production is a better distribution of wealth; that a better distribution of wealth through the processes of production lessens profits upon labor and thus makes co-operative labor practicable and that through co-operative labor must come the extinction of the wage system.

"The League was pronounced in its opposition to the discussion of finance and other reforms in the name of labor reforms, protesting that the so-called Labor Reform conventions that assemble and discuss almost everything else but labor, and confuse and disgust those who stop to listen by the impracticable nature of their claims: that furnish a theatre or a platform for a crowd of adventurers without a purpose, and without a constituency among those who labor or among those who think, that minister to the

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most sensational and superficial thought or feeling of the movement; that flippantly denounce as narrow and unimportant, or worse, the uprising of labor everywhere for fewer hours; that present no theory of the labor and poverty problem, and no measures that could be enacted or repealed with profit to labor may be regarded as not important to the laborers' movement;' and resolved,

" 'That the claim for less hours is the first step in labor reform; that less hours means higher wages, less poverty, a more equal distribution of wealth, more wealth-producing machinery, and wealth far more rapidly produced; that the vices and crimes and follies of mankind are largely the result of their poverty and of their ignorance, which their poverty increases; that a monopoly of education, a monopoly of political rights, and a monopoly of wealth in the hands of the few are the great dangers that now most threaten our Republic.'

" 'We, therefore, call once again as we have and shall continue to call, for the concentration of the whole power and forces of the labor movement upon the simple and single issue of the legislation necessary to secure the eight-hour system; first, for all the labor employed at public expense, whether by contract or by the day.'

"Dating from the formation of the Massachusetts Bureau and the Eight-Hour League, the agitation of this question increased in activity; new organizations sprang up all over the land, old ones were re-organized, and during 1870-71 the seeds were sown for the great uprising of 1872. In this year nearly one hundred thousand workmen in New York City struck for the eight-hour system, and after continuing the struggle in some cases for more than three months the following trades secured the eight-hour day: bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, painters, stonecutters, stonemasons, masons' laborers, paper hangers and plate printers. The financial troubles of 1873 checked further agitation of the subject until April, 1874, when an Industrial Congress held at Rochester, New York, promulgated a declaration of principles and submitted to the public the objects sought to be accomplished, among which was the following:

" '17th, the reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so that laborers may have some time for social enjoyment and intellectual improvements, and may be enabled to reap the advantages conferred by the labor-saving machinery which their brains have created.'

"Little was done during the next two years owing to the industrial depression. In 1877 the great railroad strikes diverted attention from the movement; and, although there were occasional local strikes either for the eight-hour day or for reduced hours, the question had been so far overshadowed as to receive no mention at the Pittsburgh session of the National Labor Congress in 1880, when a constituency of 223,000 was represented.

"In this latter year, however, a convention of some of the leading national and international trades-unions was held, and the 'Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada' was formed, designed to take the place of the existing labor congresses, and especially 'to assume the initiative in a movement for the reduction of the hours of labor.' In accordance with this purpose the Federation at its session during the winter of 1883-84, designated May 1, 1886, as the date for a general introduction of the eight-hour system into the industries of the United

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States and Canada.

"The order of the Knights of Labor, formed in Philadelphia in 1869, first known to the public in 1878, and attaining in 1885, the first magnitude as a factor in the organized labor movement, was applied to by resolution of the Federation asking its co-operation in the eight-hour reform. This request, while favorably regarded by many of the district assemblies of the Knights, was discountenanced by the general assembly on the grounds that the people most interested in the project were not sufficiently educated in the movement, that the date fixed was not a suitable one, and that the plan proposed for the establishment of the eight-hour day, namely, by the great strike, was not a proper one. Nevertheless, the Federatio adhered to its program and at the Washington convention in January, 1886, it was advised that workmen throughout the country should 'lay by a certain sum, say $3 per week; invest the same in the necessaries of life before the dawn of May 1, 1886, and be in a position to defy defeat.' ----------

"It is worth while noting--that nineteen states and one territory have existing laws prescribing the hours of labor and that these vary from eight to eighteen as a legal day's work.

"In California eight hours are a legal day's work in the absence of a special contract, and such contracts are forbidden for all state work. In Illinois, the same number is established in all mechanical employments, except on farms and when otherwise agreed: this does not apply to service by day, week or month, or prevent contracts for longer hours. In New York, the same for mechanics, workingmen and laborers, except in farm or domestic labor, but overwork for extra pay is permitted; the act applies to all work for the state or municipality. In Pennsylvania, eight hours between the rising and setting of the sun, are made a day's work in the absence of an agreement for longer time which any person may make; and the act does not apply to the service by the week, month or year, but no operative under 21 can be employed more than ten hours a day or sixty a week, in a cotton, silk, wool, flax, bagging or paper factory. In Wisconsin, children under 18 and women cannot be compelled to labor more than eight hours a day in mechanical or manufacturing occupations, and employers are forbidden to permit children under 14 to labor more than ten hours per day; in engagements for day labor in manufacturing or mechanical pursuits a day's work is construed to consist of eight hours in the absence of express contract to the contrary. In New Mexico, eight hours of labor on a mining claim is a day's work for the purposes of the mining law.

"In Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Rhode Island, ten hours constitute a day's work in all but mercantile, agricultural and domestic service, in the absence of agreement to the contrary; the same in the mines of Alleghany and Garrett counties, Maryland. In Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont, there are restrictions on the day's work of women and minors in factories and kindred occupations; in Massachusetts, no person under 18 may be employed more than ten hours a day in any mercantile establishment; in Michgan, women and those under 18 are entitled to one hour for dinner out of the prescribed ten-hour day.

"In Georgia, the code of 1882 provides that hours of labor

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shall be from sunrise to sunset for persons under 21 in manufacturing and mechanical employments. In Minnesota the legislature has found it necessary to impose a penalty of from $25 to $100, to be inflicted upon any officer or employee of a railroad company who compels a locomotive engineer or fireman to labor more than eighteen hours a day, except in cases of urgent necessity. (Public Laws of Minnesota, 1885, chapter 206, Page 277.) "

The Illinois State Register of March 13, 1880, declared that the "one most consummate piece of humbuggery ever suggested in connection with the 'labor question' is the so-called 'eight-hour movement.' The thing is really too silly to merit the attention of a body of lunatics---and the idea of 'striking' for eight hours is about as sensible as 'striking' for pay without the hours. A wise laboring man will work just as long as he agrees to work for certain wages, specified between himself and his employer whether for one hour, or for twenty-four hours. No legislative body on earth can properly have anything to do with the subject. It is purely and exclusively a matter of contract between the individual wage-payer and the individual wage-worker." (Quoted in Vol. IV of Centennial Hist. of Ill., Page 163)

On February 5, 1886, the same organ expressed the opinion that "the unanimty with which congressmen are expressing their friendliness to labor legislation is an indication that they are beginning to realize the great power possessed by organized labor." (Quoted, Ibid, 165)

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From Volume IV of the Centennail History of Illinois by Bogart and Thompson, Pages 162 ff:

"However gratifying the sweeping republican success of the early eighties in Illinois may have been, old-line politicians were becoming acutely conscious of the growing clamor of new issues. Into the political field, long sacred to tariff discussions, to reconstruction debates, to senatorial election campaigns-all saturated with the brine of bitter personal invective-economic questions now insistently pushed their demands. It is true that for almost twenty years, coincident with the country's phenomenal business and industrial development after the Civil War, economic discontent had at various times tried to become politically articulate. The unfolding of business opportunites, the achievements of manufactures, and the expansion of trade had afforded a spectacle of delight to the American people generally; but to particular groups this development had exhibited only its sinister side, the ruthless contest without rules, in which they were always beaten. In Illinois, railroads and middlemen had pressed too hard the agricultural population; and the granger movement, conceived in stringent economic necessity, had for a period dominated politics. The same forces, dissolving into greenback, and later into 'independent' organizations, had less aptly voiced their economic protest.

"Meanwhile, in the thriving young cities of the state, daiversified industry was leaping into strength. Machine shops, foundries, and factories, with nothing to hamper or limit them, expanded, organized, united, and went on growing. Poverty and unemployment, disease and overcrowding became in a new sense pressing municipal problems. At the same time the people began to know the names 'trusts' and 'combinations,' while newsmper abuse of those 'corporations which fatten on the people' became familiar enough.

"The growth of industry meant, in a state heretofore so largely agricultural, the tremendous increase of industrial laborers. Caught in the swirl of changing conditions, buffeted and beaten, they had been slow to realize that their individual weakness could be changed to strength by united bargaining power; when first they did essay to grasp that weapon it was not surprising that, divided into foreign language groups, with the native element innocent of organization, their demands were laughed at and ignored. To the press, labor unrest and agitation were only other names for communism and socialism-a fearful embodiment of things foreign and alien: the freely admitted reprehensibility of big business when it combined into heartless trusts must not confuse the citizen into condoning the impracticable demands of labor-demands for shorter hours, for safety devices, for employers' liability, for limitation of child labor, for the right of organization-any of which, if insisted upon, would certainly disturb business. Such was the doctrine of the newspapers for several years. Early in 1880, the thousands of workingmen in the packing houses of Chicago were defeated by their employers in a three weeks' strike over their right to organize. 'The striking men, finding their wives and children suffering for bread--concluded at last to abandon their nonsense and apply to their old employers for work in their old places, at the old rates.'

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"They were rejected, however, whereupon a demonstration against the 'scab' labor took place. The State Register termed it 'an unpardonable outrage upon the decency of the times,' and concluded: 'Such labor agitators as these Chicago mobocrats are a fraud upon the dignities of all honest toil. They are traitors, not only to wives and children, but to society and government. They deserve no freeman's sympathy, but detestation. They are entitled simply to the severest penalties of the violated law, supplemented, if need be, by copious showers of lead and shell.'

"Nevertheless in the large centers laboring men began slowly to rally; and organization, once under way, progressed rapidly. The unions formed in the skilled trades came more and more to express discontent and unrest, while the Knights of Labor, emerging from their humble beginnings in the seventies, in the eighties felt strong enough to come to the front with a more aggressive attitude on labor questions. In June, 1884, they held a meeting in Chicago to urge the members of the republican convention then in session to put forth in its program something more than vague generalizations about labor. Among the foremost demands of the Knights were those for an eight-hour day, for a law for the incorporation of unions, for the legal prohibition of the labor of children under fourteen, for an employers' liability act, and for a law giving the worker a lien on the product of his labor. [Nation, June 5, 1884.]

"The two years from 1884 to 1886 saw such a formidable development in labor organization, such bold demands for protection and recognition, that, with the great increase of strikes, the democratic press descanted upon 'the power and benefits' of labor organizations: and political aspirants began to trim their sails somewhat to this new force. -----Five years before, republicans and democrats had regarded with equal disdain labor's political demands; now republicans in convention were forced to receive politely the demands of the labor representatives, while democrats went so far as to discuss them.

"In October, 1884, the Federation of Trades designated May 1, 1886, for the inauguration of the eight-hour day. In Illinois during the late winter and early spring of that year this concrete demand became symbolic to workingman and employer alike: to the one it was the substance of greater things yet to be; to the other it threatened the right of private capital to the autocratic control of production. Every week saw enthusiasm grow among the laborers: the Knights of Labor formed a hundred new lodges a week until finally they were obliged to call a halt lest they become too unwieldy. Organization of manufacturers, with opposition to unions and Knights as their password, were the answer to this unprecedented growth. The dramatic spectacle of the railway strike in East St. Louis-a sympathetic demonstration to the struggle then going on in the southwestern states-could not have been better staged to spur on both sides. Before his eyes the awakening worker saw displayed the power he might come to wield: state and federal authority stood helpless before it. The owners of industry seemed to see the handwriting on the wall foretelling a new age; and, for the most part, they set themselves in uncompromising opposition. The lockout became as common as they strike. In February, Cyrus McCormick

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locked out his fourteen hundred employees when they tried to enforce the principle of union labor. 'I told them,' said Mr. Mc Cormick, 'that the right to hire any man, white or black, union or non-union, Protestant or Catholic, was something I would not surrender ---Where we differed in the matter that involved principle, I would not yield. I also said we would have no trouble about the matter, and to avoid any trouble and to sustain that principle, the works closed this morning.'

"During these months the press in general favored labor's demand. Five years had converted the eight-hour agitation into something 'theoretically sound---humane and unselfish' as long as it asked for eight hours' pay for eight hours' work. The plan would give the workingman greater opportunity for personal development: moreover, it had been found that he produced as much in eight as he did in ten hours. But there were signs that the movement had 'degenerated into a demand for eight hours' work and ten hours' pay'-a 'menace' to be deplored. 'A twenty per cent increase in pay contemplates an industrial revolution which ought not rudely to be forced upon the country,' just recovering from depression. Moreover, would the workingman be satisfied with this victory, or would he, on the contrary, continue to demand greater and greater concessions? He could scarcely expect sympathy if that were the case. Still, it sometimes appeared, with the sweeping enthusiasm among workingmen resulting from 'the trade and labor unions, the Knights of Labor assemblies, the socialistic and international groups,' all 'agitating harmoniously for a full, legal day's work,' that regardless of theoretical considerations the eight-hour day would be successful.

"Outside the industrial centers, the state manifested little sympathy with the movement. The problems of the agricultural population were divorced from those of the city; a vague alliance which the currency question had cemented between farming and industrial classes was almost negatived by sharper lines of cleavage. Moreover, labor had too long been identified in the minds of the farmers with press accounts of socialism and anarchy, red flags, incendiary speeches, and alien violence to win understanding consideration now. Everywhere the forces of law and order unequivocal in their stand. The Catholic Church fobade its members to join the Knights of Labor. The police force of Chicago reflected the hostility of the employing class, regarding strikes per se as evidence that the men had placed themselves in opposition to law and order. During these months of unrest it became a pastime for a squad of mounted police, or a detachment in close formation, to disperse with the billy any gathering of workmen. The billy was an impartial instrument: men, women, and children, and shop-keeping bystanders alike composed its harvest. It was the police, aided by the 'Pinkertons,' who added the great leaven of bitterness to the contest. To the workingmen they furnished concrete and hateful examples of the autocracy against which they protested.

"As May Day approached the tension all over the city of Chicago increased. Squads of police guarded the larger factories and galloped unexpectedly through quarters where laboring men assembled. Meetings and processions revealed the excitement among the workmen. On April 26, over three thousand men marched in procession,

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the different trades bearing such mottoes as 'The Proletariat Must be Liberated;' the terminus of these 'Blatant Anarchists on a Tramp' was the lake front, where eight thousand people listened to the speeches of labor leaders. "Communistic Germans, Bohemians, and Poles, representing the lumber-yards, coopers, bakers, the cigar shops, the breweries, and the International Workingmen's Association" were now prominent, while 'the Nihilistic character of the procession was shown by the red badges and red flags which were thickly displayed through it.' The city lived in dread of what might happen. 'The supreme officers of the police department have ceased in the attempt to smooth over the fears of the last few weeks regarding the labor movement. Their sole idea now is that---there will be a great deal of trouble. It was decided last night to place the entire police on reserve early Saturday morning--many hundred additional men can be pressed into service as special policemen as soon as any serious outbreak should occur.' (State Register, May 1, 1886.)

"It came then as a surprise that the day passed peacefully enough-so peacefully that in spite of parades and celebrations the numerical strength of the sixty thousand men actively engaged in the movement was much underestimated. The result of the day differed in the various trades: in a few trades the eight hour day with ten hours' pay had already been granted, in others the eight-hour day with eight hours' pay was now inaugurated, while still more compromised on a nine-hour day with nine hours' pay.

"But on the 'Black Road' leading to the McCormick works trouble was brewing. During the winter and spring difficulties had grown steadily more acute. The owner would consider neither compromise nor arbitration; scabs had replaced the striking workers; policemen and Pinkertons hovered about the place. When, on May 3, the union men held a meeting near the plant and again indulged in hoots of contempt and derision at the scab employees, the owner called in the police. In the melee which followed the appearance of a hundred and fifty officers of the law, several workingmen were killed and a score or so wounded. The news went swiftly through the city. The headlines of the Arbeiter Zeitung screamed: 'Blood! Lead and Powder as a cure for dissatisfied workmen! About six laborers mortally and four times that number slightly wounded! Thus are the eight-hour men to be intimidated. This is law and order!' That night 'thousands of copies of the following circular were distributed in all parts of the city. "Revenge! Revenge! Workmen to arms! Men of labor, this afternoon the bloodhounds of your oppressors murdered six of your brothers at McCormick's! Why did they murder them? Because they dared to be dissatisfied with the lot which your oppressors have assigned to them. They demanded bread, and they gave them lead for an answer." ' " The result was the Haymarket Square riot.

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